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THE SOCIAL ACTIVIST AND SOCIAL CHANGE.

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This paper calls for the involvement of social scientists in developing programs and directions for social change. Their research could illuminate the social reform aspects of the civil rights movement and the consequences of the movement on minority-group activists, nonparticipants, and the majority group. Studies could also be made of the effect of change on social institutions and of the problem areas in society in which there are racial inequalities. And because there is an immediate problem in the state of Negro schools, educators must use skills in reshaping unhealthy attitudes, in reevaluating school desegregation, and in establishing meaningful programs to benefit both advantaged and disadvantaged students. There is a special need for programs to halt the cumulative deficit in the intelligence of disadvantaged Negro children. Finally, the Negro family and community should be studied by social scientists so that guidelines for change may be developed. Reactions to this paper are included. (NH)

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

THE SOCIAL ACTIVIST AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Throughout the last three and one-half centuries Negroes have occupied this land we share today. Their occupation can be characterized chiefly by a long and resolute struggle for freedom and human dignity.

In 1619 the first slaves were brought to America. The early 1860's saw a civil war. This war, in a sense, brought emancipation to these slaves, but an emancipation that is only now being faced up to by an aroused society.

A second, non-violent, civil war was necessary to begin this arousal of the conscience of our nation. It has been called the "Negro Revolution" and stems mainly from two pressures: one from without and one from within. The one from without began with America's need to appeal to the rolling tide of world opinion. As the leading conquering champion of democracy facing the totalitarian cold war contender for world leadership, we needed allies from among the colored peoples of the world. Even more did we need a less tarnished image of democracy as practiced here in these United States. The eyes of the world were on us, some friendly, some hostile, and out of their gaze grew the official necessity for a national conscience. The Judicial, Executive, and Legislative branches of the Government at last became seriously interested in the civil rights of all constituents.

Yet, the pressure from without would not have been enough. For some, a way of life had grown up through decades and centuries of oppression -- a way of life that assumed Negroes were a subhuman species and deserved subservient status. While we had fought Fascism, racism, with a war, we failed

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to realize how deeply many of our citizens accepted its ideas. Nor was this acceptance restricted to any single sun-soaked portion of the nation. Historians long selectively neglected the role of Negroes in building America. In fact, many Negroes built it with their minds as well as their backs. The myth of the subservient, subintelligent Negro was perpetuated in our textbooks. Even Dick and Jane were always blue-eyed and fair complected. To change as a stereotype, the people painted with that stereotype must break it from within, which is exactly what happened. Racists had to reverse their classifications. They had to because the so-called "subservient" Negro was no longer taking orders. This so-called subintelligent Negro was competing in college. The so-called subhuman Negro was showing more human courage, compassion, and conviction than either race was accustomed to seeing. Civil rights became rallying points for direct and strong non-violent action. Non-violent courage was met with violence, and as the nation watched, a national conscience grew.

A pressure from within; a pressure from without. A Government comes of moral age; its people grow with it.

The Need for Social Scientists

Today, the traffic light for freedom has changed from red to green, or so it seems. But isn't it on amber still in too many places? For if it is, we must be cautious here. With all the best intentions in the world, our light may change back to red. Intent is not enough. A conscience with direction is a conscience without a future. We need programs, directions, and plans for carrying out the full realization of freedom for all people. For this direction, we, who have marched the streets for civil rights and for all of the

basic freedoms which we seek, now look to the nation's social scientists to aid us in developing the specific programs, plans, and directions we must have for social change.

We do not ask you to march by our side, although, as citizens, you are free and welcome to do so. Rather, we ask you to focus on the fresh social issues of our day; to move from observing operant learning, the psychology of risk...to the test tubes of Watts, Harlem, Selma, and Bogalusa. We ask you to make society's problems your laboratory. We ask you to translate your data into direction -- direction for action.

It can be validly argued that during the past twelve years the findings of social science have played a much smaller role than their potential might lead us to hope for. Too many behavioral scientists have evinced little more than esoteric, ivy-towered "after-the-fact" type concern with the civil rights struggle. This lack of programmatic focusing of the spotlight of behavioral science's concern is all the more appalling in light of the fact that this nation has been undergoing one of the greatest social transformations in its history. In the main, activists have been responsible for the transformation of the past dozen years. Armed with their method of non-violent direct action, social activists have changed many embedded customs, provoked historic legislation, and have given new meaning to the American dream of freedom for all men.

At the same time, however, it is true that the insights and findings of psychological and sociological research have been crucial to the monumental legal arguments exemplifed by the school segregation cases. The behavioral data constituted an essential part of the Supreme Court's rationale in the

Brown versus Board of Education decision of 1954. This decision, declaring state-compelled segregation to be unconstitutional, came as an enlightened pronouncement which ended the long night of legally-sanctioned racial injustice, at least as far as education was concerned. The civil rights enthusiast must be eternally grateful for the pioneering behavioral science work which has been basic to that decision.

...Unfortunately, however, the ensuing years were not to see commensurate contributions by students of human behavior despite the fact that the next dozen years saw the civil rights issue catapulted to new and astounding prominence. Presently, the Negro, both North and South, stands precariously on the brink between fully taking his rightful place in American society, and seeing his dream vanish amidst the subtle hard core prejudices and discriminations that are less overt, but equally as damaging as the covert discriminations and prejudices that were part of the Negro's life in the South. The many subtle but firm social and economic barriers are leading to frustration and smouldering resentment on the part of the Negro. This resentment and frustration, prevalent wherever the Negro is attempting to assume his rightful place in society, is at present even more pronounced in the crowded urban centers and the ghettos of our larger cities. At such a crucial time as this, then, the social scientist can render an invaluable contribution to our social order by being a catalyst, by becoming an activist, by stimulating, uplifting, reconciling, democratic change. In fact, in this day of rapid change, the analytic work and recommendations of the behavioral science scholar might well be indispensable to the salvaging of the American democratic ideal of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all, regardless of race, creed, or color.

Ways to Render Service

The social scientist might render such service by studying: (1) the civil rights struggle as a movement for social reform; (2) the nature and consequences of change brought about by the freedom movement for minority group activists and non-participants; (3) the attitudinal and behavioral consequences with the majority groups as a result of civil rights activity; (4) the implications of racial change for societal institutions and processes; (5) the hard core problem areas in the social fabric which remain pervaded by racial inequities. For example, let me posit some specific conerns and problem areas which I believe lend themselves to fruitful study by behavioral scientists and which may be touched on by one or more of the papers and comments of our participants during this conference. Study of such concerns could lead to programmatic recommendations which would hasten the dawning of racial justice and freedom in our land.

First, given the existence of fair employment laws and enforcement agencies in the North, what attitudes and actions within both the majority and minority groups are responsible for Negro unemployment being double that of white workers? To what extent is racial discrimination operative in employment hiring, firing, and promotion, and with what bearing upon the Negroes' disproportionate unemployment and underemployment? Most important -- what corrective steps can be taken?

Next, what courses of action are open in terms of institutional, attitudinal, and behavioral change which will ameliorate the impact that the stepped-up automation has in displacing thousands of persons weekly? (This, of course, means Negroes particularly, owing to their proportional preponderance in low and unskilled job categories.) How do existing attitudes and

predispositions of business and industrial personnel people, trade unionists, governmental officials, impinge upon the prospects for amelioration?

Next, what steps are necessary to break down the ghetto walls and the suburban curtain, especially in light of outbursts like those in Watts, and how can racist conceptions, policies and practices of white residents, real estate dealers and mortgage money institutions best be combatted?

Next, what is to be done about segregated education, northern style?... What are the consequences of *de facto* segregation upon the "hearts and minds" of Negro slum school pupils and white students in the cities and suburbs? What can be done about the neighborhood school system, bussing, pupil transfer plans, and with what consequences for learning? These issues do constitute major concerns in the area of Negro education, and the resolution of such problems is bound to have long-lasting effects, either advantageous or otherwise, depending on the wisdom of the particular means taken.

The direction of resistance to current desegregation methods is often dependent on geographical location. School bussing, for example, is strongly opposed by those who can be categorized as segregationists in the North, but is typically supported by segregationists in the South. This particular paradox does not reflect a difference in attitude but rather one of strategy. In the North, neighborhoods are usually *de facto* segregated so that the "neighborhood school concept" leads to school composition which reflects the uniracial housing. On the other hand, southern neighborhoods are quite often integrated racially. The South has no longer relied on tradition and law to separate the races, since separate housing patterns were never widely needed by segregationists to accomplish their goals. Now in these southern neighborhoods, the "neighborhood" school concept is ignored. White children are

bussed to the more adequately equipped schools as a matter of course. Thus, transporting children to distant schools finds support in Selma, opposition in Chicago. The goals are the same, but the strategy varies with the context.

Can we not be as flexible in our approaches? Do we demand global approaches to achieve our goals or must we also vary our approach to the circumstances? Does the end justify the means? I think not. The means happen to be pre-existent in the end. Yet we must vary our methods since resistance to change always comes from more than one direction and, as exemplified by the bussing attitudes, frequently stems from opposite directions simultaneously.

The Plight of Negro Schools, South and North

There is a problem to be encountered in the present state of Negro schools, especially in the South, which is immediate and critical, and to which the behavioral scientists might profitably turn their attention. Although we realize that complete desegregation is an objective of many concerned citizens, this cannot be accomplished in a day. Meanwhile, the present plight of Southern Negro schools continues to forestall educational advancement of the Negro generation for its eventual role in the American social, political, economic, and cultural scene. Negro public schools in the South, and to a great extent in the North, of which the city of Chicago is a classic example, although desegregated in name, tend to remain Negro, with all of the previous disadvantaging conditions still present. For example, a Prince Edward County study of 1963 found that the schools provided for Negro children prior to de-segregation were the same schools operative afterwards; virtually unchanged tar-paper and broken-down frame shacks, possessing for their physical facili-ties outdoor privies, wood stoves, and old-fashioned manual water pumps.

In most instances, the school buildings and furnishings were in disrepair. Modern conveniences and teaching materials conducive to a healthy educational environment were lacking. In Wilcox County, Alabama, much the same picture is presented at the present time. There is a paucity of educational materials, and no library facilities. Many children complete their entire educational program without having the very minimum of library services available to them. The entire school environment in Wilcox County is unconducive to learning, and here, as elsewhere in the South (and often in the Northern Negro neighborhood schools), the school child must become more concerned with physical needs than with obtaining an education. Why? Because the means of providing for these basic needs are so inadequate that he must concentrate on their fulfillment rather than on education. The body feeds before the mind and must be fed first. Therefore, while we need school desegregation, how can we speak to the *immediate* problem of coping with the present terrible conditions in the segregated "Negro" schools? However, we must keep in mind that this is not an agreement for separate but equal schools, but a statement that schools which have been reserved for Negroes need complete restructuring during this transition period.

The southern sections of the United States are making rapid gains in many areas that affect the poor and the formerly disenfranchised. The results from some phases of the Alabama Democratic primary, for example, suggest that the political nest of the South is in the process of being reconstructed. However, our educational institutions which should be providing leadership in this era of social transition are yet placing roadblocks in the path of progress. The recent attacks on the Federal school desegregation guidelines by southern educators and politicians, many of whom reside here in the State

of Georgia, strongly suggest that many southern educators are far more sensitive to the unfair biases of influential parents and local politicians than they are to the basic educational needs of all children. Educators in general, both North and South, have too long been quiet on integration and vocal in support of segregation. Many have also exhibited reluctance to accelerate the pace of school desegregation. Must it be necessary for social activists to once again take to the streets and demonstrate this time for quality-integrated education? Without a doubt, quality education is related to all of the objectives that concern social activists. Educators must once again use their training and skills to reshape unhealthy attitudes. Parents and educators must look even more objectively at the many positive benefits of school desegregation. Furthermore, meaningful programs that will benefit both the advantaged and disadvantaged must be established by skilled educators.

What About a Project Catch-Up?

This last year has seen government programs in special education of as high a caliber as Project Head Start come into existence. While covering the critical preschool years for disadvantaged children is a tremendously important first step, we must not forget about the disadvantaged teenagers and adults whose problem is even more immediate, more grave. Research has repeatedly demonstrated a *decline* in the measured intelligence of disadvantaged Negro school children as their age *increased.* The effects of neglect thus accumulate, leaving an even greater problem for those teachers attempting to educate children who have been ignored for a decade or more. By all means, let us expand Project Head Start, but isn't there also a need for a Project Catch-Up? The preschoolers have elder brothers and sisters, even mothers and fathers, who have suffered intellectual isolation even longer. Our responsibility

must be to the education of *all*. Our national integrity demands that history eventually show American intelligence to *increase* from full years of environmental stimulation and challenge rather than to *decrease* from empty years of frustation and boredom. That is another problem that must be dealt with by concerned educators.

What about the Negro family, its too often matriarchal character, its strengths, its weaknesses, the extended family, and welfare dependency? What institutional changes can be effected to cope with discrimination in a society leading to the so-called "breakdown" of the Negro family? Have Negro families broken down in actual fact, or are they a major source of support? Where this family support is lacking, how can social scientists assist in overcoming this?

Next, what about the socio-pathological manifestations in the Negro community, the crime, the delinquency, the illegitimacy, the disease? What can be done to eliminate the stereotypes so strongly held in the white community? What can be done about the actual existence of Negro crime, disease, etc., that has been brought about by years of systematic oppression?

What are the socio-psychological implications of increasingly expanded and awakening black communities in both northern and southern sections of the United States, and with what possible political consequences for the social order? What stifled needs are fulfilled by Black Nationalism? What are the alternatives for political expression?

Next, what are the implications for the social order of the expanding governmental commitment -- Federal, state, and local -- in such matters as civil rights and anti-poverty programs? Should more be done, and in which areas, and with what probable consequences?

Finally, what systematic action or research programs can behavioral scientists suggest to our educational institutions at large, and to the Federal Government, to cope with the massive socio-economic problems in Watts, Harlem, Southside and Westside Chicago, and all of the others. Do we need a domestic Marshall Plan? What specific roles can social scientists play in speaking to the problems mentioned above, from a programmatic point of view?

Activists have long been aware that the scientific world is concerned. Yet, we would like to encourage you to more actively translate this concern into programs that will address themselves to the many issues raised during this conference. May I say to you that, on the basis of what you have learned about human behavior, can you not give us some active guidelines for social change? That is what I have hopes we may accomplish here. Let us leave this meeting with some sound directions laid out. And I realize that your understanding of human behavior *and* the need for social change both grow from one year to the next. I propose an annual conference on the social science of social change. I propose it be built around behavioral activists and active behaviorists. I also propose, of course, that the year between meetings be filled with productive action. Let us meet every year, once a year, until we are fully satisfied with the society we bear responsibility for. Or, not achieving that, let us meet annually until the next generation, anxious for their freedom *now*, retires us to the sidelines.

We are marchers; we have begun to march; we cannot be stopped. Assist us in discovering the best route to our common goals.

Dr. Philip Hauser:

RESPONSE TO DR. KING'S REMARKS

...What would have happened had present methods employed by activists in behalf of civil rights -- the so-called Negro revolt -- occurred a half century ago, in 1910, or for that matter in 1920, and possibly even in 1930?

I would submit that the response of the American public, the President, and the Congress would have been considerably different, and the objectives would have been considerably different. I suggest that one of the reasons that the activist programs have achieved remarkable progress is, in part, attributable to the changes in the awareness, understanding, and education of the American public.

It is a significant thing that in 1940, when we first asked a question on years of schooling completed in the census of the United States, the average American adult had a grade school education. By 1960 -- within a period of 20 years -- the average adult American had achieved about two years of high school. By the time our next census is taken in 1970 the average American adult will be a high school graduate.

I would submit that a good many changes in the attitudes of the American public -- associated with not only the increased years of schooling but the content of that schooling -- has made the activist program an effective program in achieving objectives partly by reason of the contribution of the social sciences....For example, I think that the social sciences -- particularly social anthropology, sociology, social psychology -- have done a great deal

to kill the myth of racial superiority. I think the average American in 1965 knows that this is just a lot of pish-posh and nonsense. And I think the average American in 1920 didn't know it.

I think the social sciences have contributed, also, in paving the way for an understanding of the significance of the social heritage as distinguished from the biological heritage; the fact that what determines the quality of a man is the opportunity he has for education, for the acquisition of skills. It's the kind of social heritage that is transmitted to him, and not the biological heritage through the genes and the genetic process. I think this has still got to permeate our population, our thought, our action much more widely than is the case.

But I think we have gained considerably in the last half century in this respect. Let me remind you that there has been and still is a large part of the American public that really believes differences are essentially due to a different genetic past....But it literally takes dozens of generations and perhaps millions of years to effect significan changes through the genetic process. However, we know that it takes only one generation to bring a people from complete illiteracy to the heights of education.

There's no nation on the face of the earth that has more definitely demonstrated that it is possible within one generation for people who are completely illiterate in any language to have offspring that reach the heights in the professions, in business, in politics. No nation has demonstrated this as well as we have. And I'm sure there are people in this room that have reached positions of eminence whose parents were completely illiterate.

The full significance of this has not yet sunk into the consciousness

of our society and into our body politic. We don't have to wait millions of years to improve the quality of a population. What we need to do is provide people with the opportunity for taking this quality on. It is my conviction that the social sciences have contributed to an understanding of this fact; to the responsibilities and tolerances that are required in a pluralistic society; and to the great differentials in rates of change in our cultural and social heritage.

William F. Ogburn's concept of "cultural lag" has given us much of an understanding about the fact that social changes occur differentially, and that some parts of our society can be way ahead of others. Now this has implications for program. We have learned a good deal, incidentally, in describing the characteristics and the roles of various components of our population, including the Negro.

If you will forgive me, Dr. King, I have a personal anecdote here that's quite relevant. In 1940 I was assistant chief of the United States Population Census. In planning the census in 1938 and 1939, we not only introduced the school question to which I have referred, but also a question on wage or salary income. Those of us in the Bureau of the Census who were responsible for this proposal were called on the carpet by committees on the Hill, including the census committee in the House of Representatives. One of the committee members accused us of inserting these questions because, if I may use his language, "It's designed by a lot of New Deal radicals to get the niggers dissatisfied."

Now he knew whereof he spoke, because I think history has proved him right. The fact is that successive censuses, which have been greatly influenced by social science, have carried information that has -- among

other things -- given the American people a faithful picture of the inequities and injustices....

Four Obstacles to Progress

Let me get to specific programmatic responses to the challenging questions and problems put by Dr. King....To my mind there are four major obstacles to progress on not only the race relations front, but on the American front with respect to improvements in education, with respect to improvements in levels of living, particularly for those elements that now do not have their fair share of the American way of life.

It's an ironic fact that the Negro revolt has disclosed not only the pathetic and tragic conditions of the Negro child, but it has disclosed the pathetic and tragic conditions of the inner-city child, white or Negro. The city child gets only half as much education as the suburban child when measured by per capita input, which -- in a monetary society -- isn't a bad measurement of the quality of education. And by the same standard, the child, white or Negro, in the inner-city gets not a second rate but a third rate education in metropolitan United States....

Opposition to Integration: First, I think we must face the fact -- and this has programmatic implications -- that there are large elements of the American people in the Federal, state and municipal governments, in the educational institutions -- including teachers' colleges -- who are definitely opposed to integration, or who are apathetic to making progress towards equality in educational opportunity.

Now, opposition and apathy to equal opportunity are facts of American life today. We must recognize these as facts, and the programmatic impli-

cations are to mount a campaign of corrective education to deal with them. We need corrective education for the dominant majority of the white population as much as we need compensatory education for the opportunity-deprived Negro population.

Corrective education, among other things, would modify the distorted, outmoded stereotypes of minority groups. It would be deliberately designed to produce positive attitudes out of a basic understanding of the contributions of all minority groups to American life and to American society. This might be done, not only through school materials, but through the mass media of communication and other methods. In short, I think a program of corrective education is a prerequisite to progress on other fronts.

The "Color Blind" Obstacle to Research: The second major obstacle is that in setting up an ideal for a "color blind" society, we can afford to be color blind en route. To attain a color blind society in the long run we must have a color conscious society in the short run. The movement several years ago to strike Negro, race or color identification from all forms, questionnaires and what not, has certainly boomeranged in a tremendous fashion.

And its implications are clear from my anecdote about the House census committee. When we get rid of identifying information we lose our ability to get statistics, thus completely obscuring discriminatory practices and frustrating any effort to ferret them out.

Actually what we need is a color conscious society in which deliberate efforts are made to achieve the necessary admixture and integration in all walks of life, and in which it is possible to audit what goes on so we have

the story of discrimination. Under the present situation any number of scoundrels throughout the land are able, by reason of not having statistics by color, to obscure what they're actually doing....

The Shortage of Money: A third obstacle is to be found in the pathetic shortage of money on virtually all areas representing the objectives of the civil rights movement. We are spending dollars where we should be spending millions of dollars....

We have saved hundreds of millions of dollars in education, and have literally been spending *billions* to mop up the failures of the educational system in institutions concerned with delinquency and crime, with poverty, with ADC, with high morbidity and mortality, with unemployment and so on down the line....This affects white as well as Negro children.

On the educational front we see to it that the greatest per capita expenditures in public schools are given to those children who need the least, and that the lowest per capita expenditure for education is given to those children who need it the most. If you set about to create an idiotic allocation of resources, you couldn't do better than we've managed to do throughout our national history. And this applies not only to education, but to other fronts as well.

Inadequate Use of Federal Power: A fourth major obstacle to progress is to be found in the inadequate use of federal power. Dr. King has given us one good example in connection with bussing in the schools.

States rights is another example. What have states rights meant in our history? States rights has pretty much meant -- "Keep the Federal government out of this and let us deal with our Negroes ourselves." It's a

very interesting thing, and again, an ironic thing, that the intrusion of the Federal government in urban renewal, public housing, transportation, civil rights, the schools -- in every case the sad fact is that the Federal government was forced to move into close collaboration with our municipalities because state governments have seen fit to become the fifth wheels of the American governmental system. State governments -- controlled by a dwindling rural minority have, in effect, forced Federal government intervention.

That situation still obtains. And as long as it obtains we must recognize that the way to resolve these problems is through more Federal government, not less Federal government, and that these 19th century stereotypes and slogans about keeping Federal government out of our affairs often turn out to be devices used to defend the status quo. They are not based on an analysis of the problems and consideration of what can be done to resolve them.

Economic Security and Welfare

Now apart from these four general obstacles, let me move to some specific areas. Let's look at the problem of economic security and welfare....Until we get a school system that transmits to every child a combination of basic skills, saleable skills and civic and social skills that enable him to stand on his own feet and assume the obligations as well as the rights of American citizenship, we're going to be forced to deal with the human failures of the educational system. It would be much more sensible to create the type of citizens we know how to create. It'll be another five years, ten years -- I hope not longer than that -- before our educational system

begins to produce a generation that can, in effect, stand on its own feet.

What happens in the meantime? Well, in the meantime we've got many human beings going through an inferior pipeline. We've got to do all kinds of patchwork and remediation to fix up what the schools haven't done right in the first place. We've got a generation without skills, increasingly incapable of standing on its own feet economically, in our kind of a technological order. And what do we do with them? We need to transmit to these victims of inferior education basic skills and saleable skills with which they, if still educable, can make their own living.

Then what do you do with the residue? And there will be a residue, by reason of age and the accumulated handicap of inferior education and training. What do you do with these handicapped people? Keep them on relief indefinitely? Programmatically, we need to adopt what I'd like to refer to as "intensive labor" programs. This is part of the transitional price we must pay -- the price we pay for our past mistakes, the sins we've inherited from our fathers. For this generation in transition, we are obliged as a society to create work. And there's a lot of useful work to be done. It can be done with whatever skills the handicapped residue may have....

The "Mass" and the "Elite" Negro

As recently as 1960, 78 per cent of adult Negroes had not completed high school; and 23 per cent had not completed fifth grade -- were "functionally illiterate." These data, along with other education and job statistics, present the problem of the mass Negro population.

But social scientists have unearthed another problem: that the greater the education and the higher the occupation of the Negro, the greater is the

disparity between his income and the income for whites with the same education and occupation. Thus we've got another kind of problem for the "elite" Negro -- who, in a sense, has broken through the barriers and acquired education -- that's quite different from the problem of the "mass" Negro. And this is the problem of discrimination. We need different programs to deal with the mass Negro problem, on the one hand, and the problem of the elite Negro -- the middle class, educated Negro -- on the other....

The Housing Problem

Let's look at housing. We know that housing problems are particularly hard on the Negro population. We know that the main reason we have slums is because in our free enterprise system it is possible to make a buck out of the slum. We will continue to have slums as long as we maintain a crazy-quilt situation in which it is profitable to produce and operate slums.

Yet even though we know how to get rid of the slums by taking the profit out of them, we fail to do this. Let me just give you one example: What happens if a landlord converts a property and greatly increases his income, then milks that property and doesn't maintain it? An obliging city decreases the property's assessed value and gives the landlord a tax cut for contributing to the deterioration of the city.

There are ways of dealing with this situation. We must redefine private property rights so that the rights of the society as a whole take precedence over the rights of individuals. We've been doing this throughout our national history. More of it remains to be done, so that there's no way to operate a slum profitably.

We must have a drastic revision of public housing. We realize now

that we've given hundreds of thousands of Negro families better physical housing. But we have learned the hard way that we've created abnormal communities. We have learned that high rise apartments have multiplied many problems. In Chicago we have a public housing project down South State Street as a monument to segregation for many decades to come....

The Negro Family

What about the Negro family? Here is an area that could stand much elaboration. But let me make this quick, brief observation....I think the problem of the Negro family in a large measure is attributable to the fact that in the history of this nation the Negro male has been systematically, socially and economically emasculated. The Negro male has not been permitted to perform the roles that are associated in our society with the male, namely of being a provider and supporter of a family. He just never has had the opportunity to make a living in any decent way and to earn a position in his family and in society which was recognized as his own rightfully gained position.

The target is clear enough. We need to adopt a whole series of measures that add up to a program of restoring the social and economic masculinity of the Negro male. Nothing can do more in my judgment to restore the Negro family than to give every Negro male some kind of steady income flow that he earns by the labor force contribution he can make and not as an inadequate dole.

The Role of Local Government

What about government? At the local level it is clear that many of the

problems that serve as barriers to progress on the civil rights front and to better living conditions for the Negro family are to be found in the fact that although we have metropolitan areas that are economic entities they are fragmented politically into literally hundreds -- in the two largest cases, over a thousand -- separate governmental units. In consequence there is little resemblance between the need for services -- including educational and other services within a metropolitan area -- and the ability to pay for them out of local tax resources. This is another reason why the Federal government has had to come in. What I'm saying is that a reconstitution of local government -- more specifically a metropolitan area approach -- must also be part of a program to help resolve a good many of the problems that afflict the Negro.

What Tasks for the Negro?

Now what about the Negro community itself? The Negro has come a long way in a relatively short time as measured by the time table of the past.

What does he do now? I would say there are many areas in which demonstrations are no longer accomplishing or going to accomplish anything. The Negro now has the tough problem of utilizing the doors that have been opened. It takes 18 years to become a high school graduate. It takes 22 years to become a college graduate. It takes more like 28 years to become an M. D. ready to practice. This means hard application over long periods of time for those who can get through the open door. It may continue to be very attractive to demonstrate as contrasted with, let us say, to buckle down to 22 years of hard school work. But there must now be developed the motivation and incentive to make use of these opening doors.

There are also other ways that the Negro can help himself. One of the basic barriers to progress in the Negro community is -- in a sense -- the self-inflicted one of a high birth rate. It's really not self-inflicted, for this is true throughout the world -- wherever there is illiteracy, wherever there is great poverty, there are high birth rates. Wherever there are high birth rates and limited savings, there can be only limited investment per capita in what the economist is now calling "invesment in human resources."

There has never been a people who didn't decrease their birth after acquiring education and higher levels of living. And conversely, we've yet to see the first demonstration of a mass population, steeped in illiteracy and poverty, that managed to cut its birth rate. And as long as the birth rate is high, ceilings are set on education and other opportunities.

The Negro also must learn how to translate what he's done on the civil rights front into political strength. Alabama and the South, in general, are at present test cases. But in our large cities now the Negro has not yet learned how to make local political machines *earn* the Negro vote instead of *own* the Negro vote.

I think relatively little progress in many of our metropolitan areas is directly attributable to the fact that the local machine feels it has the Negro vote in its hip pocket. And until civil rights enthusiasm is also demonstrated in political enthusiasm there's going to be relatively little progress.

And finally, so far as the Negro's own program is concerned, it seems to me there is going to be increasing need to distinguish between those elements of the establishment that aim to suppress the Negro, as distinguished

from those parts that are trying to help the Negro. And you don't bite those agencies and persons who are trying to help. This distinction should be easier and easier to make in the coming years.

What Tasks for the Social Scientist?

What about the social scientist? Significant problems were included in Dr. King's address. The most important conclusion is that the social scientist should, of course, increasingly devote his research to the relevant and significant problems.

The social scientist doesn't really qualify to be an activist. There are some social scientists you don't want to be activists. If some social scientists ever ran anything, you would regret it. But this does not mean that they cannot make a contribution. Those social scientists that are competent as activists should, of course, be free to work in activist roles as citizens. But I might respectfully suggest, that the social scientist who confuses the role of the citizen or the role of the social engineer with that of the social scientist generally ceases being a useful social scientist. It is possible to be both sometimes. But one must be aware of the fact that he's wearing a different hat in these different capacities.

My final observation is this -- and I think this has great programmatic significance. Pathetically ignorant as we are in the social sciences, I don't think I'm making a misstatement when I say that social science is far ahead of the social order in which we live. The reason for the many problems that afflict the Negro is not to be found in inadequate social science knowledge. It lies rather in the fact that society has not yet caught up; it is not yet ready to utilize existing social science knowledge.

And the programmatic implications here are clear. We certainly need much more knowledge, but we need also a mobilization of effort to use the knowledge we already have. We need mobilization on the political front. We need mobilization on the adult educational front and on the general attitudinal front to make society more receptive to using available knowledge. I'm convinced that if we use the knowledge we already have, we'll have a much better world in which to live.

Dr. Edmund W. Gordon:

RESPONSE TO DR. KING'S REMARKS

...Dr. King has delivered an eloquent plea for assistance from behavioral scientists. But let us not view his statement as a plea for help but as a call to action in the discharge by the behavioral scientist of urgent social responsibility. Periodically in the history of man the forces of social history combine to confront mankind with opportunities for advancing the cause of humanity at the same time that we advance the cause of science and knowledge.

The present period is such a time. The nation's advancement requires that we find solutions to certain problems in human relationships and democratic living. The nation's defense requires that we find solutions for certain problems related to the educational and social development of the total population and the achievement of intellectual excellence in a significant portion of that population.

The human rights values which are currently pursued under the banner of the civil rights struggle have forced this nation to give high priority to the resolution of these problems. Unlike any other period in our nation's history, substantial resources are now at least potentially available for the pursuit of these problems. Unlike any other period in our nation's history, organizational and institutional forms are emerging through which action and basic research directed at these problems can be pursued. And unlike any other period in the history of man, the technological capacity, the technological potential for solving some of the material problems which

underlie the problems in educational and social development, this technology is available for implementation.

With proper planning and proper distribution and proper population control, we can produce the food, the commodities, the structures necessary for physical survival of man and only have to solve the problems related to the planning and distribution of these. The problems of physical survival are no long a major focus of attention for us. That is, they are no longer problems that require our major attention with respect to solution.

The problems of social survival as opposed to physical survival now clearly confront us, and the forces of social history bid us come and apply our talents to their solution. There are many problems related to social action and social change, and particularly to educational and social development, which require attention.

Dr. King has called attention to some of these. However, in our search for help and for new ideas, it would be economical if we were to make better use of some of the ideas and knowledge currently available to us. While we wait for the researcher to develop new knowledge and more appropriate answers, the social activist cannot afford to devote so much time to action that time is not allowed for the systematic review of available knowledge, of available facts.

Each of you has received a summary statement prepared by Dr. Katz in connection with an earlier meeting in this series. Dr. Katz points to some of the ideas and findings from desegregation research, which are currently available. Social activists would do well to become conversant with these findings, to become familiar with this literature.

On the other hand, those of us concerned with research development concurrently have the responsibility for conveying these ideas in a manner which is not only enlightening to our colleagues but which is of practical value to the activist. Dr. King has also called attention to some problems related to educational development. Among these are those which relate to school desegregation, to racial integration in education, to the improvement of educational opportunities in *de facto* and temporary situations of segregation.

However critical these problems may be, and they are urgent problems, long after we have solved those problems in education which relate to racial caste status, and the disadvantageous circumstances under which too many of our children exist, our society will be faced with problems of meeting the developmental and educational needs of people who vary along a variety of dimensions and who may require a wide variety of educational and developmental facilitation measures.

These problems will be complicated by changes in our society which will confront education with a monumental challenge. The new society will place demands on our citizens for competencies in information management, conceptual integration, human relations, creative self-management and self-expression, and in the nonviolent reconciliation of individual and national differences far beyond those which presently claim our attention.

As we pursue answers to urgent problems related to the initiation and achievement of social change, let us not be unaware of the need to begin to raise those questions which must be answered if we are to survive and advance with the products of change. It is history's challenge to the behavioral scientist to move man's discovery and knowledge of the facts of science suf-

ficiently ahead to lead the activist in the pursuit of change and to guide man in the humanistic utilization of the products of change.

The pursuit of these facts is our unending task. Ivan Pavlov is reported to have advised his students that ideas and theory are like the wings of birds; they permit us to soar high up in the sky. But facts are the atmosphere against which these wings must beat, and without which the bird plummets to the earth.